

Publications Committee

BULLETIN
OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

No. 353

EXTENSION SERIES No. 58

AUGUST 15, 1914

An Educational Test for Immigrants

Bibliography and Selected Arguments

Edited by

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AND

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Published by the University six times a month and entered as second
class matter at the postoffice at

AUSTIN, TEXAS

PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS.

Publications Committee: W. J. Battle, J. C. Townes, W. S. Carter, Killis Campbell, F. W. Simonds, E. C. Barker, A. Caswell Ellis, R. A. Law, J. A. Lomax.

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This division has immediate charge of "The University Interscholastic League." This is an organization of the schools of Texas for the purpose of promoting contests in debate, declamation, and athletics. The University is desirous of aiding the schools in the matter of training for citizenship; and also to aid teachers in developing, controlling, and standardizing athletic activities in the schools.

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(Continued on inside rear cover.)

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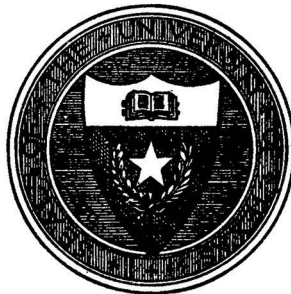
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The benefits of education and of useful knowledge, generally diffused through a community, are essential to the preservation of a free government.
Sam Houston.

Cultivated mind is the guardian genius of democracy. . . . It is the only dictator that freemen acknowledge and the only security that freemen desire.

President Mirabeau B. Lamar.

It is only out of the contest of facts and brains that the right can ever be evolved—only on the anvil of discussion can the spark of truth be struck out.
Joseph H. Choate.

PREFACE

The State Executive Committee of the University Interscholastic League announces the following as the question for the debates of 1914-1915:

Resolved, That all immigrants to the United States who are sixteen years of age should be able to read in some language, dependents upon qualified immigrants—such as children and aged parents—being excepted.

This bulletin contains selected references and arguments, affirmative and negative, relative to immigration in general and the literacy test in particular. The arguments given are in no sense to be considered as final or complete, but are offered to the debater as material which will serve as a working basis in the collation of his own arguments. The Department of Extension of the University has a limited number of the pamphlets and books mentioned in the bibliography, which will be loaned in order of application, but members of the League should send direct to the addresses given. *See especially the first paragraph under "Bibliography," page 5, and the references given under the heading of "Pamphlets and Government Documents," pages 10-12.*

Attention is also called to University Bulletin No. 351, Extension Series No. 57, containing the intercollegiate debates on this question, as given by the University of Texas teams. One copy (only) of this bulletin will be sent to each school belonging to the League, but *contestants should in all cases work up their own arguments by themselves before reading debates on the question, in order to avoid a slavish copying.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON IMMIGRATION

The most fruitful source for reference on the subject of immigration is the reports of the Commission on Immigration, issued by the government in a series of forty volumes. However, a very careful summary of these voluminous works has now been issued and such can be secured by application to the Bureau of Information, Washington, D. C. Valuable information for the affirmative will be given on application to the Immigration Restriction League, 60 State Street, Boston, Mass.; whereas, the best material for the negative side is contained in the several publications of Isaac A. Hourwich, of the United States Immigration Bureau, and in a series of pamphlets issued by the National Liberal Immigration League, 150 Nassau Street, New York.

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GENERAL STATEMENT

The problem of immigration touches every phase of American life, economically, socially, and politically. As an economic problem it affects the development of American industry, the standard of American wages, and the status of American labor. As a social problem, it affects the standard of living and the morals of American citizens. Politically it is significant when one considers the large number of immigrants who become naturalized, and the influence of the large alien vote in our national and local elections. The motives prompting the immigrants to come to this country; their manner of life after locating themselves; and above all the possibilities of assimilation, are important factors in considering the value of any particular alien class.

IMMIGRANT LEGISLATION.

As early as 1819 immigrants were coming to the United States from the countries of northern Europe. Our first statistics, collected in 1820, show that during the previous year some 9000 immigrants, mainly from Germany and the United Kingdom, came to our shores. In 1840, the total number of arrivals reached the number of 84,066, and by 1854 the problem had become so acute that the Know-Nothing party adopted a platform which favored complete restriction of immigration, its cry being "America for Americans." Not until 1882, however, when the number of immigrants passed the 75,000 mark, due to the great German emigration, did the United States see fit to pass a general immigration law. Previously immigration, although not encouraged to any great extent, was practically unrestricted, but in the spring of 1882 Congress passed a law, administered by the Secretary of the Treasury, providing for a head tax of fifty cents on all aliens entering the United States, and excluding idiots, lunatics, persons likely to become public charges, and convicts, except those accused of political offenses.

The Contract Labor Law of 1885 was the next restrictive measure, forbidding the importation of foreigners under contract to do work in this country. It was made a penalty to assist, or under

contract to encourage immigration in any manner whatsoever, exceptions being made in favor of certain skilled workmen, and personal or domestic servants. To the class of undesirables was also added polygamists and those aliens suffering from dangerous contagious diseases.

In 1891 it was made unlawful for steamship companies to solicit immigration by advertising the United States in foreign countries as a desirable place for settlement. In 1893, a law was passed which compelled each immigrant to present full information concerning himself, and made it compulsory for the captain of an immigrant ship to certify that none of the excluded classes were among his passengers. This law further provided for a special board of inquiry to pass final judgment on all doubtful cases arising under our immigrant laws.

In 1903, a head tax of \$2.00 was placed on every immigrant, and to the class of undesirables were added prostitutes, deported contract laborers, epileptics, beggars, and anarchists. In 1907, the head tax was raised to \$4.00, and imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, those with tuberculosis, and children under sixteen unaccompanied by one or both parents, were excluded. Also this law established a bureau of information, the aim of which was to solve the problem of distributing immigrants to those sections of the country where they were most needed.

The policy of the United States regarding Japanese and Chinese immigration has been widely different from the method adopted for handling the European immigrants. Our present laws exclude all Chinese and Japanese, except teachers, students, travelers, merchants, and a few other classes.

THE ILLITERACY TEST.

The first attempt to place illiterate immigrants in the class of undesirables was made in 1897, when the Lodge Literacy Bill passed both houses of Congress by a large majority vote, and was only prevented from becoming a law by the veto of President Cleveland. In 1907 the Dillingham Bill, containing a literacy requirement for immigrants, was presented to Congress. The bill passed in the Senate only after the literacy test was removed. However, this act established a commission, the purpose of which was to "make full inquiry, examination and investigation into the

subject of immigration." In 1912, Senator Dillingham presented another bill, popularly known as the Dillingham-Burnett Bill, in which was incorporated the literacy test. The measure passed both houses of Congress, but it was vetoed by President Taft. In 1914, Congress is again considering a literacy test, presented in the form of a bill by Congressman Burnett of Georgia, which at the time of this writing, is receiving strong support in both houses of Congress, but expressly disapproved of by President Wilson.

GENERAL OUTLINE FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE.

NOTE.—The following is in no sense a complete brief, but rather an arrangement of notes used as the basis for lectures delivered by the editor to a class in debate at the University of Texas. A corresponding outline of the negative side will be found on page 41.

The proposition is, to exclude those who cannot read in some language, certain exceptions being made in favor of dependents upon qualified immigrants.

Preliminary—A Priori—Considerations.

There must be merit in the proposed law, for

1. Recommended by Immigration Commission by a vote of 8 to 1.
2. Lacked but three votes in House of passing over President Taft's veto.
3. Now reintroduced in Congress.

Main Issue.

Will the proposed law do more good than harm? (Other legislation not excluded.)

ARGUMENT.

Special Issues.

I. Further restriction of undesirable immigrants is demanded on economic, political, and social grounds.

II. An illiteracy test, in the words of the Immigration Commission, is "the most feasible single method of restricting undesirable immigration."

The *facts* of the case, upon which the affirmative bases its cause of action are:

Taking last three fiscal years (to June 30, 1913):

Immigrant aliens in 1911, 878,000; 1912, 838,000; 1913, 1,000,000.

Average percentage of illiterates equals 42 per cent.

Percentage of illiterates, northern Europe, 3.5 per cent.

Percentage of illiterates, southern Europe, about 40 per cent.

I. A further restriction of undesirable immigrants is demanded on economic grounds. (This proposition rightly assumes that we may have "undesirable" immigrants, for laws now in force aim to exclude such.)

1. Excess of unskilled laborers (Immigration Com. Report).

a. Lowering standard of living—work for less than a living American wage.

2. It is said that we need more laborers. This is the argument of the captains of industry,—the materialistic or commercial argument. As the Immigration Commission says, "The development of business may be brought about by means which lower the standard of living of the wage earners. A slow expansion of industry which would permit the adaptation and assimilation of the incoming labor supply is preferable to a very rapid industrial expansion which results in the immigration of laborers of low standards and efficiency."

a. Further, it is open to question if the illiteracy test would materially reduce the aggregate immigration, for (1) more skilled laborers would come and a better class of unskilled laborers—result of removal of competition, and steamboat companies would canvass for a better class of manual laborers who can read.

NOTE.—The affirmative is contending not for reduction in quantity, but for an improvement in quality.

II. A further restriction of undesirable immigrants is demanded on political grounds.

1. The new immigration (as distinguished from the old) tends to settle in a few states, and within those states in

a few cities, and within those cities in the slum districts. This is attended by

- a. Ignorance of our institutions.
 - b. No desire or opportunity of becoming assimilated in our body politic—hence Little Italy, East Side in New York, Haymarket riots in Chicago, etc. Those who can read, read papers in native language. Most cannot read. There is no desire to become American citizens, as shown by non-naturalization. Slum districts are breeders of anarchists.
2. The number and character of the new immigration type is such that assimilation is impossible.
 3. Tendency to form mere racial groups exists, e. g., such groups have already taken a prominent part in opposing immigration legislation. Such groups already hold the balance of power in many places, and they divide, not on public policy, but on matters of racial advantage.

III. A further restriction of undesirable immigrants is demanded on social grounds.

1. The continued influx of delinquents and defectives from the lower social strata of southern Europe must result in the deterioration of the American man-type. The admission of nearly a half million immigrants who are below the average of our people is "watering the nation's life blood." "History shows that it has usually been the peaceful migrations and not the conquering armies that have undermined and changed the institutions of peoples. To take the classical example on this subject, the real cause of the fall of the Roman Empire was not the conquering Goths and Vandals, on the one hand, nor the vice and luxury of the Romans on the other. It was the constant infiltration into Roman citizenship of large numbers of 'barbarians,' i. e., of races alien in instincts and habits of thought and action to the races which had built up the Roman Empire. The newcomers assimilated the Roman faster than they themselves were assimilated."

- This is fast becoming the situation in America, e. g.:
- a. In many places the continental Sunday, with its games and theatres, and its open bars, is taking the place of our traditional Sabbath.
 - b. In some of our factory towns there are many operatives living under the system of free marriage.
 - c. Race deterioration. Half-breeds of any race are inferior to their parents. Scientists are agreed upon this. Note, e. g., Cuba, Mexico, and other countries south. Until recently the only distinct race in large numbers in the U. S. has been the negro, and the native American has had an insurmountable prejudice against intermarriage with the black races. The Mediterranean and Asiatic races, on the other hand, have much less of this feeling. There is a strong negro strain in the south Italians. Suppose these people in any considerable numbers migrate to the South,—where the dark-skinned races are more likely to settle,—and interbreed with the negroes. Thoughtful Southerners are already alarmed by this prospect and have announced through many of their industrial conventions that they do not desire the immigration of southeastern Europeans. The same is true of the Western States regarding Asiatics, both for racial and economic reasons. On this point even Booker T. Washington declares that we “might have a racial problem in the South more difficult and more dangerous than is caused by the presence of the negro.” Two hundred and thirty-one thousand six hundred and thirteen immigrants came from south Italy last year,—twice the number from any other country, except Poland, which sent 174,365.
 - d. *Refutation.* It is claimed that the political and social evils complained of can be cured, and are being cured, through (1) better distribution, and (2) the education of the immigrants’ children. But education only brings out what is in a man, and seldom puts much there which was not there before. You cannot change bad stock to good, and education and distribu-

tion can only palliate the evils complained of, not cure them.

IV. The illiteracy test is "the most feasible single method of restricting undesirable immigration," for

1. The reading test is inherently sound, for
 - a. It is politically essential for citizenship in a democracy—our public school system is based on this idea.
 - b. *Refutation.* Reading no test of ability or character. But in this case we must compare classes, not individuals.
2. It is a simple and definite test. It removes objections to present law, e. g., "those likely to become public charges."
3. It would exclude the undesirable immigrants, for (1) the average illiteracy of southeastern Europe is twelve times that of northern Europe immigrants—42.1 per cent against 3.5 per cent, and (2) the economic, political and social evils we have pointed out are due to the presence of these illiterate immigrants.

The affirmative has established its cause of action, and shown that a reading test will do more good than harm—the main issue in the debate.

SELECTED AFFIRMATIVE ARGUMENTS

IMMIGRATION OF ALIENS INTO THE UNITED STATES.

Brief extracts from report of Committee on Immigration and Naturalization:

The Commission on Immigration, after nearly four years of investigation and study of the question, both in this country and in Europe, made its report to Congress more than a year ago. There were nine members of that Commission, and they were unanimous in the following statement:

"The Commission as a whole recommends restriction as demanded

by economic, moral, and social considerations, furnishes in its report reasons for such restrictions, and points out methods by which Congress can attain the desired result if its judgment coincides with that of the Commission."

Eight out of the nine, after citing various methods of restriction, concurred in the following report:

"A majority of the Commission favor the reading and writing test as the most feasible single method of restricting undesirable immigration."

It is certainly interesting, and we believe important, to know some of the reasons which led the Commission up to these conclusions, and we will make a few extracts from the brief statement of conclusions and recommendations of the Commission. On page 25 of this statement they say:

"The proportion of the more serious crimes of homicide, blackmail, and robbery, as well as the least serious offenses, is greater among the foreign-born. The disproportion in this regard is due principally to the prevalence of homicides and other crimes of personal violence among Italians and to the violation of city ordinances previously mentioned."

On pages 29 and 30 they say:

"It is certain that southern and eastern European immigrants have almost completely monopolized unskilled labor activities in many of the more important industries. This phase of the industrial situation was made the most important and exhaustive feature of the Commission's investigation, and the results show that while the competition of these immigrants has had little, if any, effect on the highly skilled trades, nevertheless, through lack of industrial progress and by reason of large and constant reinforcement from abroad, it has kept conditions in the semi-skilled and unskilled occupations from advancing.

"Several elements peculiar to the new immigrants contributed to this result. They came from countries where low economic conditions prevailed and where conditions of labor were bad. They were content to accept wages and conditions which the native American and immigrants of the older class had come to regard as unsatisfactory. They were not, as a rule, engaged at lower wages than had been paid to the older workmen for the same class of labor, but their presence in constantly increasing numbers prevented

progress among the older wage-earning class, and as a result that class of employees was gradually replaced. An instance of this displacement is shown in the experience in the bituminous coal mines of western Pennsylvania. This section of the bituminous field was the one first entered by the new immigrants, and the displacement of the old workers was soon under way. Some of them entered other occupations and many of them migrated to the coal fields of the Middle West. Later these fields were also invaded by the new immigrants, and large numbers of the old workers again migrated to the mines of the Southwest, where they still predominate. The effect of the new immigration is clearly shown in the western Pennsylvania fields, where the average wage of the bituminous coal worker is 42 cents a day below the average wage in the Middle West and Southwest. Incidentally, hours of labor are longer and general working conditions poorer in the Pennsylvania mines than elsewhere. Another characteristic of the new immigrants contributed to the situation in Pennsylvania. This was the impossibility of successfully organizing them into labor unions. Several attempts at organization were made, but the constant influx of immigrants to whom prevailing conditions seemed unusually favorable contributed to the failure to organize. A similar situation has prevailed in other great industries.

"Like most of the immigration from southern and eastern Europe, those who entered the leading industries were largely single men, or married men unaccompanied by their families. There is, of course, in practically all industrial communities, a large number of families of the various races, but the majority of the employees are men without families here and whose standard of living is so far below that of the native American or older immigrant workman that it is impossible for the latter to successfully compete with them. They usually live in co-operative groups and crowd together. Consequently, they are able to save a great part of their earnings, much of which is sent or carried abroad. Moreover, there is a strong tendency on the part of these unaccompanied men to return to their native countries after a few years of labor here. These groups have little contact with American life, learn little of American institutions, and aside from the wages earned profit little by their stay in this country. During their early years in the United States they usually rely for assistance and advice on some member of their

race, frequently a saloon keeper or grocer, and almost always a steamship ticket agent and 'immigrant banker,' who, because of superior intelligence and better knowledge of American ways, commands their confidence. After a longer residence they usually become more self-reliant, but their progress toward assimilation is generally slow. Immigrant families in the industrial centers are more permanent and usually exhibit a stronger tendency toward advancement, although, in most cases, it is a long time before they even approach the ordinary standard of the American or the older immigrant families in the same grade of occupation. This description, of course, is not universally true, but it fairly represents a great part of the recent immigrant population in the United States. Their numbers are so great and the influx is so continuous that even with the remarkable expansion of industry during the past few years there has been created an oversupply of unskilled labor, and in some of the industries this is reflected in a curtailed number of working days and a consequent yearly income among the unskilled workers which is very much less than is indicated by the daily wage-rates paid; and while it may not have lowered in a marked degree the American standard of living, it has introduced a lower standard which has become prevalent in the unskilled industries at large."

On pages 33 and 34 they say:

"It is difficult to define and still more difficult to correctly measure the tendency of newer immigrant races toward Americanization, or assimilation into the body of the American people. If, however, the tendency to acquire citizenship, to learn the English language, and to abandon native customs and standards of living may be considered as factors, it is found that many of the more recent immigrants are backward in this regard, while some others have made excellent progress. The absence of family life, which is so conspicuous among many southern and eastern Europeans in the United States, is undoubtedly the influence which most effectively retards assimilation. The great majority of some of these races are represented in the United States by single men or men whose wives and families are in their native country. It is a common practice for men of this class in industrial communities to live in boarding or rooming groups, and as they are also usually associated with each other in their work they do not come in contact

with Americans, and consequently have little or no incentive to learn the English language, become acquainted with American institutions, or adopt American standards."

On page 37 they say:

"As a result of the investigation, the Commission is unanimously of the opinion that in framing legislation emphasis should be laid upon the following principles:

"1. While the American people, as in the past, welcome the oppressed of other lands, care should be taken that immigration be such, both in quality and quantity, as not to make too difficult the process of assimilation.

"2. Since the existing law and further special legislation recommended in this report deal with the physically and morally unfit, further general legislation concerning the admission of aliens should be based primarily upon economic or business considerations touching the prosperity and economic well-being of our people.

"3. The measure of the rational, healthy development of a country is not the extent of its investment of capital, its output of products, or its exports and imports, unless there is a corresponding economic opportunity afforded to the citizen dependent upon employment for his material, mental, and moral development.

"4. The development of business may be brought about by means which lower the standard of living of the wage-earners. A slow expansion of industry which would permit the adaptation and assimilation of the incoming labor supply is preferable to a very rapid industrial expansion which results in the immigration of laborers of low standards and efficiency, who imperil the American standard of wages and conditions of employment."

On page 30 they say:

"The investigations of the Commission show an oversupply of unskilled labor in basic industries to an extent which indicates an oversupply of unskilled labor in the industries of the country as a whole, and therefore demand legislation which will at the present time restrict the further admission of such unskilled labor."

It is important to remember that the Commission was created at the instance of those opposing the illiteracy test, and that their conclusions were evidently the result of long and careful investigations.

Extract from report of the Commissioner of Immigration at New York:

There are many who do not appreciate the fact that the law excludes only manifestly objectionable classes of immigrants, such as idiots, imbeciles, the insane, paupers, persons likely to become public charges, persons with loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases, persons whose physical or mental defects prevent them from earning a living, criminals, procurers, and prostitutes, so that even under a strict execution of the law we can keep out only persons whose presence would be detrimental to any community. Between these on the one hand and the class of immigrants on the other hand who are a real benefit to the country, as so large a number are, there are many who, though able to earn a living, cannot in any sense be termed desirable. They are, nevertheless, admissible under the low requirements of existing law, which makes no provision whatever for selecting desirable immigrants, though there are many reasons why following the example of at least one other country we should take early steps to do this. The new immigration, unlike that of earlier years, proceeds in part from the poorer elements of the countries of southern and eastern Europe and from backward races with customs and institutions widely different from ours and without the capacity of assimilating with our people as did the early immigrants. Many of those coming from these sources have very low standards of living, possess filthy habits, and are of an ignorance which passes belief. . . . Such immigrants differ widely also from the earlier ones in respect of their occupations and the localities to which they go. Contrary to what was formerly the case, a large proportion are unskilled laborers who go to the mining and manufacturing centers, where the Immigration Commission recently found that there existed an oversupply of unskilled foreign labor. Over three-fifths remain in five Eastern cities, where they begin their American life among unfavorable surroundings and exposed to many evil influences. They often herd together, forming, in effect, foreign colonies in which the English language is almost unknown. Miserable economic and sanitary conditions exist in many of these colonies; witness, for instance, in New York City, the frequency with which the State factory inspectors are compelled to attach the red "unclean" tag to articles made in shops and factories where aliens are employed,

the threatened use of this tag constituting often the best means at their disposal of compelling the maintenance of even a semblance of cleanliness in such places.

Repeatedly the new immigrant obtains his job at the expense of an older employee, who loses his. Certain employers seek new immigrant labor in preference to other and more efficient labor, of which there may be an abundance, because of the willingness of the new immigrants (or "greenies" as they are termed) to work at the outset unduly long hours or at unduly low wages, or both, and perhaps also to pay the foreman or padrone a bonus. Later, as they become more proficient and demand higher wages, they are discharged and their places filled with immigrants who have arrived more recently. Experiences of this sort are frequent among immigrant tailors, cap makers, carpenters, painters, bakers and others. These are matters which have a direct bearing upon the unsanitary conditions that surround the work and lives of so many immigrants of certain classes, especially in the large cities. . . .

In the estimation of the most impartial observers a certain minority of the new immigration is undesirable from the point of view of the interests of the United States, and this question cannot properly be considered from any other point of view. The real issue today is whether or not means should be found to keep out this undesirable minority, yet this issue is often successfully confused by interested persons who seek to make it appear that those who merely advocate further reasonable restrictions are exclusionists and hostile to immigration as a whole. The desirable immigrant will always be welcome, and one of the best ways to secure him is to take stringent measures to keep out those who are undesirable. That enormous benefits have accrued to this country through immigration is a fact which requires no emphasis and which none deny whose views are entitled to any weight, but this is irrelevant upon the point whether today we should not curtail somewhat that portion of the immigration which is undesirable. Those opposing all further restriction will usually be found doing so in the interest, not of the United States or of immigration in general, but of some particular class. It is well for the American people to realize that there are agencies at work to introduce some immigrants for mercenary or humanitarian reasons regardless of whether or not the best interests of the United States demand their presence here. If

this country is to open its doors to certain classes of unfortunates, it is difficult to see why we should not do so as to the unfortunates of the world, including those among the Africans and Hindoos. The very suggestion of any such course answers itself. The time has come when it is necessary to put aside false sentimentality in dealing with the question of immigration and to give more consideration to its racial and economic aspects, and in determining what additional immigrants we shall receive to remember that our first duty is to our own country.

IMMIGRATION.

Hon. Caleb Powers of Kentucky—extracts from a speech containing valuable statistics, delivered in the House of Representatives January 25, 1913:

And what are the reasons for this widespread interest in favor of stricter immigration laws? Why has the American Congress from 1819 to 1907, as I have pointed out, been adding one restriction after another to the continued stream of immigrants flocking to our shores? Why have the framers of the Burnett and Dillingham bills, the conference report we are now considering, added very materially to the excluded classes of aliens as provided for in the Act of February 20, 1907? It is because the people of this great country have slowly but surely been waking up to the imminent dangers to themselves and their institutions lurking in the ever-increasing tide of undesirable immigrants drifting to our shores.

Even under the operation of what was called 'the stringent immigration act' of February 20, 1907, there have reached the United States every year since its enactment in the neighborhood of 1,000,000 alien immigrants, from 30 to 40 per cent of whom can neither read nor write.

It is largely an economic, social, and moral question. The truth is that immigrants have been flocking to the American shores, as I have said, at the rate of about 1,000,000 a year, and now in the great basic industries of the country foreign labor is largely employed. In the iron and steel industry of the United States there is now employed 75 per cent of foreign-born laborers. In the woolen industry of this country there is employed 75 per cent of

foreign-born laborers. In the oil refineries of this country 75 per cent of the wage earners are of the immigrant class. In the slaughtering and meat packing business of the United States 75 per cent of the wage earners are of foreign birth. In the furniture factories, in the leather tanneries, in the woolen and worsted trades, in the bituminous coal mines, and in railroad and construction work, 75 per cent of the men now employed in those industries in the United States are not merely of foreign descent, but actually born abroad, and in a large part of the industries there is now less than 10 per cent of native Americans employed.

On page 195 of the book by Jenks and Lauck is found the following:

"The low standards of the southern and eastern European, his ready acceptance of a low wage and existing working conditions, his lack of permanent interest in the occupation and community in which he has been employed, his attitude toward labor organizations, his slow progress toward assimilation, and his willingness seemingly to accept indefinitely without protest certain wages and conditions of employment have rendered it extremely difficult for the older classes of employees to secure improvements in conditions or advancement in wages since the arrival in considerable numbers of southern and eastern European wage-earners."

America is being filled up with people from other countries in such numbers and in late years of immigrants of such a character that it is impossible to assimilate them, and America is gradually but surely being foreignized.

It will be remembered that there were no statistics kept of alien immigrants to this country until 1819. From that year down to now the increase has been tremendous and the character of the immigrants has undergone a marked change. Let us first look into the number and then the character of the immigrants that have been coming to this country.

From 1820 to 1830 there arrived on our shores 143,439 immigrants; from 1830 to 1840, 599,125; from 1840 to 1850, 1,713,351; from 1850 to 1860, 2,589,214; from 1860 to 1870, 2,314,824; from 1870 to 1880, 2,812,191; from 1880 to 1890, 5,246,613; from 1890 to 1900, 8,795,386, while in 1911 there arrived in that one year 878,587. A glance at these figures will show the tremendous increase in immigration to this country. The first decade that has

any record of immigrants coming to this country, the decade from 1820 to 1830, shows that there were only 143,439 immigrants admitted to the United States, while during the last decade, the decade from 1900 to 1910, there were 8,795,386, more than five times as many, although from 1820 to 1830 there was no Federal law on the statute books really seeking to restrict immigration and no law really attempting to regulate it or any part of it, except the Act of 1819, which regulated in a way the steerage passengers at sea.

From 1900 to 1910, when nearly 9,000,000 alien immigrants were admitted to this country, there were on the statute books pretty stringent immigration laws, as is shown by an examination of the immigrant acts of March 3, 1891, and February 20, 1907, the one now sought to be amended. The passage of the literacy test bill will curtail annually by some 200,000 the influx of immigrants to our shores. The Immigration Commission in an unanimous report—those in favor of the literacy test and those opposed to it—declared that there were too many immigrants coming to this country, and that their number ought to be materially curtailed. The question is, how should it be done?

As I said in a speech a few days ago, the immigration of this country naturally divides itself into two great groups: Those coming before the year 1880 and those coming after that time. Up to 1880 the bulk of the immigrants to this country from western and northwestern Europe, from such countries as Great Britain, Germany, Norway, and Sweden. Since 1880 the character of the white immigrants to this country changed so rapidly that in 1907 71.3 per cent of such immigration came from southern and southeastern Europe and western Asia.

Professors Jenks and Lauck, in their book, on page 128, say:

"The members of the old immigration, generally speaking, came much more generally in families, with the evident purpose of making America their permanent home, than do the members of the new immigration."

The literacy test bill we are now considering will not cure all the evils of immigration, but it will cure a part of them. It will materially lessen the number of immigrants coming to this country, and it will lessen the illiteracy. It is generally agreed that there are too many immigrants coming to this country, but the

opponents of the illiteracy test maintain that that is not the way to cure the evil. They point out that it will not shut out the idiots, anarchists, criminals, professional beggars, prostitutes, black handers, or forgers; that it will not exclude the educated criminal. Nobody contends that it will. The bill was not framed primarily for that purpose. The present law excludes all these classes of undesirables, or is intended to do so, and the argument that a literacy test will not exclude them is beside the mark. Such argument, if not intended to deceive the public, is at least calculated to. But while the literacy test does not have as its primary object the exclusion of such people, yet in its practical operation it will exclude 21 per cent of our foreign-born criminals, 18 per cent of our foreign-born insane, and 30 per cent of our foreign-born paupers.

The argument is further made that the literacy test would exclude the honest, though illiterate, laboring man—the very man we need—and would admit the educated thief and scoundrel, the very men we do not need. That character of argument is unfair. Nobody contends that a dishonest educated man is a better citizen than an honest uneducated man. No law can be framed that would not in some instances work a hardship. In dealing with matters like immigration we deal with large classes of people; and the question with the literacy test part of this bill is whether an education fits or unfits men for American citizenship.

Few men, I take it, would care to affirm that it would be better for our country if the millions of immigrants that arrive yearly upon our shores were uneducated rather than educated people. If it be true that ignorance adds to the true conception and ideals of American citizenship, and is a valuable asset for any people to possess, we had better abolish our public schools and tear down our institutions of learning. They are maintained at great cost.

For the scholastic year ending June 30, 1910, we expended on the 25,000,000 students in our public schools \$426,250,434, to say nothing of what was expended on the 125,000 students who attended our colleges and universities. If to fit our own American boys and girls for proper and efficient American citizenship we expend annually on them in tuition alone some \$500,000,000, have not we a right to demand that immigrants coming to this country who are over sixteen years of age shall at least be able to read some lan-

guage or dialect? The consensus of opinion in America is that the American fathers and mothers who have not educated their sons and daughters who are over sixteen years of age, at least to the point of being able to read in some language, have fallen far short of their duty in fitting their children for wholesome and efficient American citizenship, to say nothing of citizenship in some foreign land, about whose government and institutions they know nothing, and whose language they cannot speak. The American citizen who cannot even read or write, but who has been reared in America, surrounded by Americans, and who has observed the workings of its government, caught the spirit of its institutions, imbibed its lofty ideals, and inherited its progress, is infinitely better prepared for wholesome American citizenship than any illiterate foreigner could be; and yet America feels that young Americans must be educated not merely to read, but must be really educated to properly prepare them for the great struggle for existence and to fit them and train them for wholesome American citizenship. What does the alien immigrant who cannot read know of America or the duties and responsibilities of American citizenship? What can he know?

Professors Jenks and Lauck, in their book, page 32, say:

"At the time they are admitted into the United States as immigrants, judging from conditions in Europe, the percentage of illiteracy among the races composing the new immigration is much greater than that among the old, the difference being that of 35.6 per cent to 2.7 per cent, as shown by the following tables."

In the tables referred to, among other things, they show that 54.2 per cent of the south Italian immigrants over fourteen years of age can neither read nor write.

Ours is a representative government. Every citizen is a sovereign, and as such is called upon by his vote and otherwise to intelligently maintain that sovereignty, to uphold the ideals and institutions of the country of which he is a part. How can he maintain them when he knows nothing of them? How can he maintain them when he does not read, even in his own language; has never caught the spirit of our civilization, but upon the other hand crowds with others in colonies that do not know a word of English and are far removed from the better influences of our national life?

William Marconi, the young Italian, now less than forty years

of age, the inventor of wireless telegraphy, has added a boon and blessing to mankind by that remarkable achievement and discovery. The world is his debtor. He is an Italian. To such as these the United States opens wide her hospitable doors. The intelligent, the industrious, the thrifty, whether in high stations or in low, of all lands and countries, who are seeking homes here and who are assimilable with our people, have received, at least in the past, a welcome to our shores. That is the position of our country now. The literacy test excludes only those who cannot read. The ability to read does not make out of a bad man a good man. He is good or bad, regardless of that fact. His failure to be able to read does not make out of an honest man a dishonest man nor vice versa. Men are either honest or dishonest, regardless of that fact. Some of the truest and best men I have ever known could neither read nor write. The failure to be able to read and write is no impeachment of a man's integrity, but it is a great handicap to him in the race of life.

The alien immigrants who seek our shores and who are thus handicapped are but poorly prepared to add to the intelligence or real greatness of our nation or improve the standard of its citizenship. At tremendous cost we try to educate our own people to fitly prepare them for enlightened and wholesome American citizenship. Why not, then, require alien immigrants who seek American citizenship for the purpose of partaking of its language or dialect, so that in time, if they desire to do it, they can acquire some knowledge of our freedom and form of government, appreciate to some extent our free institutions, and exercise to some good advantage the glorious responsibilities of the citizenship they seek?

THE AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING.

Extension of remarks of Hon. Augustus P. Gardner of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, Wednesday, February 25, 1914:

Mr. Speaker, under the permission granted me on February 25, 1914, I present herewith a series of extracts from my remarks made while the immigration bill was under consideration on January 31, February 3, and February 4, 1914.

The policy of the American people for the greater part of our

history has been to admit every able-bodied immigrant of good character. For a good many years, however, we have recognized the necessity of departing from that policy. Accordingly we have passed a succession of more or less inadequate laws designed to prevent the admission of laborers under contract and to hinder the introduction of immigrants who do not come here of their own initiative. Further than that we have never yet gone; but for many years past an effort has been afoot to secure legislation which will result in a substantial reduction in the volume of our immigration, even if we are obliged to exclude many desirable men and women.

The efforts of those who desire this reduction have, for the most part, been centered on the passage of a law which requires an immigrant at least to be able to read in his own tongue. Such a bill has four times passed the Senate and three times passed the House. Twice it has reached the President only to encounter a veto. President Cleveland vetoed the bill in 1897. The House passed it over his veto, but the Senate upheld the President. President Taft vetoed the bill in 1913. This time the Senate passed it over the veto, while the House upheld the President.

Before embarking on my argument I invite your attention to a few figures. It appears from the report of the Commissioner of Immigration that 1,427,227 aliens were admitted to this country in the year ending June 30, 1913, and 611,924 aliens departed from this country during the same period, leaving a net increase of over 800,000 in our population.

The report of the Commissioner of Immigration shows that of the aliens over fourteen years of age admitted last year, 300,108, or about 24 per cent, were unable to read in any language. The ratio of illiteracy varied from 45 per cent in the case of Lithuanians, down to less than 1 per cent in the case of English, Irish, Scotch and Scandinavians.

So you see that this bill, if passed, will exclude 45 per cent of the Lithuanians, over 40 per cent of Sicilians, and less than 1 per cent of the English, Irish, Scotch and Scandinavians.

The report of the Commissioner of Immigration also shows that from September 30, 1819, down to June 30, 1903, a period of nearly eighty-four years, 21,095,614 immigrants came to this country, whereas during the ten years from June 30, 1903, to June 30,

1913, no less than 9,713,330 immigrants have arrived. Think of it! Nearly one-third of all the immigration of the last one hundred years has arrived since June 30, 1903.

The Canadian and Mexican figures are necessarily very incomplete. The proposed literacy test would affect Mexicans to a very marked extent. It would scarcely touch immigrants from Canada.

So far as I understand it, the historic argument in favor of unlimited immigration is this: Time has proved that it was a wise policy to admit an unrestricted flow of immigration from foreign lands when this country was unsettled and when we had thousands of square miles of arable land to give away; therefore, it must still be a wise policy to admit an unrestricted flow now that the country is settled and no free available land remains.

To sum it all up, Mr. Chairman, 1,400,000 people came into this country from abroad last year—1,400,000 men and women thrust in a single year into our labor market as present and future competitors.

To be sure, many of them were birds of passage, who competed with our people only for a season. Six hundred thousand aliens returned home, but 800,000 remained as a permanent addition to our population.

They are good men and women, I dare say, but they are used to a poor standard of living. They are willing to accept a poor standard of living. They are willing to go to work for less wages than our own people ought to work for. Do you think that American workmen can raise their standard of living while we are admitting each year over a million competitors to cut it down? If you know anything about workingmen's problems, you must realize that it is hard for them to maintain their present standard of living. Of course it is hard. In the last ten years we have admitted 10,000,000 people to help keep it down.

Someone has convinced many of our foreign-born voters that they want their cousins to come over here. All right; let the cousins come; but do our foreign-born voters want 1,400,000 cousins every year? Is not 700,000 a year quite enough for us to assimilate and educate up to our standard of living?

You, sir, sitting in the gallery listening to this debate, are earning \$12 per week. You would like to get \$14 per week. You think that you are worth it, do you not? How do you expect to

get \$14 a week, if we admit 1,400,000 cousins a year who are willing to take your job at \$10 per week?

We legislators are not merciless; we have the deepest sympathy for the alien who has never had the chance to learn to read. We wish him well; nevertheless, we are not sent here to legislate for him, but for our own people. If an immigrant is afflicted with undeserved disease our pity goes out to him; but we think of our own people for whose health we are responsible, and sadly we close the gates: Likewise if an immigrant is poor and ignorant and desires to better his condition our pity goes out to him as well and to the extreme limit of safety we welcome him; but when the poor and the ignorant come to us in such numbers that their poverty and their ignorance become a menace to the welfare of our own people, then we conceive it to be our duty to stem the tide. The hour has now arrived not to close the gates but to narrow the passage and control the flood.

Mr. Chairman, just what is this literacy test for immigrants? It provides that any immigrant over sixteen years old must be able to read a little in his or her own language. Even to this mild restriction there are generous exceptions. Families are not to be broken up. If only one of them can read, he or she can bring in pretty much all the rest of the household, except grown-up sons. If a reading test had been in force last year for aliens over fourteen years of age, some 300,000 of those aliens who came in here would have been excluded. That is a pretty big slice to exclude, I think. Of course the steamship companies would probably have brought quite a number of other immigrants in place of those excluded. That would have lessened the dimensions of the slice, to be sure. On the other hand, many an immigrant untruthfully told the inspector that he was able to read, and no one was able to show up his ignorance. Unfortunately, no provision exists in our laws for verifying the truth of an immigrant's assertion as to his reading capacity. If the literacy test reduces immigration by 300,000 per annum, that is the most which can be expected of it.

No man in his senses would claim that the literacy test is an ideal contrivance for sifting immigration. Everyone knows that such a provision of law will admit many a bad man and will exclude many an honest one. The real question is whether the literacy

test will exclude more that are undesirable and less that are desirable than will other suggested methods of restriction.

A dozen years ago every restrictionist favored a different method of restriction, and every pretended restrictionist stoutly asserted his abiding belief in some method or other of restriction which stood no chance of adoption. Gradually the restrictionists in the House and in the Senate came to see that the literacy test could command the greatest amount of support. Meanwhile the labor organizations came to the same conclusion. Along in 1907 the Immigration Commission was appointed, nine experts in all. At first Professors Jenks of Cornell and Dr. Neill of the United States Bureau of Labor, both members of the Commission, were doubtful about the literacy test. Finally, after two years of study eight out of the nine Commissioners joined in recommending the literacy test as the most important step to be taken. That it is perfect no one will contend, but surely we must all admit that 300,000 aliens who can read would probably make better citizens than the 300,000 illiterate aliens whom we admitted last year. To hold otherwise is to indict our common school system. However, the Commission recommended the literacy test, not as a selective measure but as a means of curtailing the congested oversupply of unskilled labor. The superiority of the individual immigrant under this system was regarded as a fortunate incidental advantage.

For many years I have listened to the argument that the anarchist and the gunman and the procurer can read, while many a horny-handed honest laborer does not possess that accomplishment. I freely admit the fact. It is also true that honest men can be found in gambling houses and that thieves can be found in church. Yet for all that I should not recommend the passage of any legislation based on the supposition that the frequenters of gambling houses are more desirable citizens than are the churchgoers.

IMMIGRATION'S INJURY TO LABOR.

(Literary Digest.)

Having excluded the invading horde of Chinese and Japanese labor, the next on the list, according to high authorities on immigration, are the Slovak, Croatian, Magyar, Herzegovinian, Lithuanian, Rumanian, Greek, and Pole, who stand knocking at the

other gate. Their crime consists in living so cheaply as to undercut American wages and threaten all American labor with a bunk-house-and-garlic standard of living. In a book by Jeremiah W. Jenks and W. Jett Lauck on "The Immigration Problem" we are shown a pretty serious picture. Dr. Jenks is professor of economics at Cornell University, and he and his aide, who have widely investigated the matter, remind us that just as "the wise development of a country is to a very great extent dependent upon the economic opportunity afforded to the wage-earning citizen for his material, mental, and moral development," so is this opportunity "dependent to a great extent upon a progressive improvement in his standard of living."

The arguments advanced against the immigrant hitherto have been chiefly of a criminological or sanitary nature. People have objected to the poor immigrant on the grounds that he was unclean, the bearer of infectious disease, a "bad mixer," and the like. But the point established by Mr. Jenks and Mr. Lauck, and driven home again and again, is only this: that the poor immigrant is an injury, a wrong, to the economic and social development of our race. He cheapens labor; he lowers the ideals of labor, and he makes the lot of the American laboring man impossible.

Can the industrious American citizen, with an American family to support, reduce his cost of living to between \$5.00 and \$7.00 a month? Can he go for days upon a diet of bread, macaroni, and bologna sausage? Can he and his wife and children live in "an attractive hut" of discarded powder cans? Probably not, but all this is done by the average immigrant landing on our shores. The first thing that happens to this "average immigrant," we read, is to be gobbled up by an unscrupulous labor agency and then, with a gang of other like unfortunates, to be shipped out West on construction work. Here he finds life unique at least. In the average railroad camp, we are informed:

"Freight cars, fitted up inside with from eight to ten bunks, are used as sleeping quarters. Separate cars are used as kitchens and as dining rooms. The bunks in the sleeping cars have been roughly put together, four in either end of each car, leaving ample space in the middle even when two extra bunks are crowded in. There is usually a table in this clear space where the men play cards and

sometimes eat instead of in the regular mess car. Even with ten men in one car, they could not be described as crowded."

Thus is the standard of living cheapened and lowered, and its continuation, we are assured, would "be detrimental not merely to our own people, but any lowering of the standard of living in this country could not fail to have a depressing effect in other sections of the world."

More and more popular is the growing demand for foreign labor, but, as the Immigration Commission itself pointed out, "a demand for labor is in itself no sure sign that the welfare of the country would be promoted by additional laborers."

Cures for this "growing evil" are many, but the "most effective way of guarding against it," urge Messrs. Jenks and Lauck, is simply this:

"The adoption of further restrictions upon immigration, even though it may not be necessary that such restrictions be maintained for any great length of time."

ILLITERACY.

Extract from a speech of Hon. Clyde Kelley of Pennsylvania. Delivered in House of Representatives January 30, 1914:

Mr. Chairman, aside from the industrial and economic phases of this question, I maintain that when a great and increasing infusion of new blood into the American Commonwealth is taking place we have a right and it is our duty to ask, "What will be the effect of this new blood upon the character of America?"

It is our duty to set a standard deemed desirable and then shape our policy so that that standard may be best maintained. If we are to have real patriotism and love of country in this nation, it must be a matter of pride to say, "I am an American." It seems to me that we must all agree that any standard deemed desirable must have at least the component parts of self-government, social morality, and love of law and order. This nation is based on the principle of self-government, is dedicated to the proposition that the will of the people is supreme. Public opinion in the last analysis must be the arbiter of our destinies. And public opinion is but the union of private opinions into one composite decision.

Therefore it is of the most vital importance that public opinion be enlightened so that its decisions be just and right. It is in recognition of that fact that our public school system has been established. Our government, State and National, spends millions of dollars every year for purposes of education. Why? Simply because it is absolutely necessary for the safety and perpetuity of free institutions and our form of government. Self-government is impossible without self-governing individuals, and you cannot have self-governing individuals without training and education. That is why enormous sums are spent for education, with compulsory attendance laws and burdens willingly borne by taxpayers. It is because it is an admitted fact that the safety and perpetuity of our institutions depend upon the measure of the intelligence of the people.

The State of Pennsylvania spends \$1000 for every boy or girl who goes through its public schools. Yet in spite of that policy, made necessary for the sake of safety, it has been forced by national action to admit hundreds of thousands of aliens every year who have had little or no knowledge of our freedom and form of government and no training whatever for the exercise of the responsibilities of citizenship. Is that not a contradiction in policy, and does it not fly in the face of our educational history?

Mr. Chairman, I believe that the hope of our nation lies in the "little red schoolhouse." I mean by that our public school system, which has been the nursery of patriots and the protection of our heritage. I hope that every arm outstretched against it may be palsied and every tongue opposing it may be withered, for the time of its destruction marks the downfall of the Republic, with its pillars toppled into wreck and rubbish.

I have no bitterness in my heart against the people of other lands, and I would take no jot nor tittle away from the meed of gratitude we owe those who have come to our shores in the past and whose names have added luster to our history. But they deserve our gratitude simply because they did well their duty in every testing time. They would ask us to do ours now could they express their desire. I take it that our most sacred duty today is to protect those ideals for which they fought and labored, to maintain American standards and hold them secure for coming generations.

THE ETHICS OF IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION.

PRESCOTT F. HALL

Restriction of immigration can be justified from two points of view. The first point of view is, that any political unit has the right to exclude whatever will not help it to a higher development than it now has. Probably the world is not yet ready for eugenic ideals such as Messrs. Pearson and Galton are preaching in England, whether they be by regulation of marriage or by preserving the purity of certain races. So let us pass to the second point of view.

This is, that any political unit has the right to protect itself from the invasion of anything tending to retard its normal life and development, whether it be noxious weeds or animals, germs of infectious disease, immoral books, immoral people, criminals, or persons whose presence tends to lower the average of intelligence, political capacity, or mental and physical health.

This right has never been questioned legally; it is an inherent attribute of sovereignty. It rests on the proposition that a political and social community is the creation and property of those who have established and developed it, and that they have the right to say who shall be admitted into its life. The nation is larger, but not unlike the state, the city, the church, the club, the family. In these smaller units the right to regulate admission is unquestioned. The college, for example, is by no means indifferent to educational tests for admission to its privileges.

Now, if the facts show, as I believe they do, that a considerable proportion of the immigrants coming today are below the average of our citizenship, mentally, morally and physically, and if they have tended to lower that average, why is it ungenerous to say, "You shall not come faster than we can lift you to our level or higher, and those of you who are very far below our level shall not come until they fit themselves for our conditions." Observe the question which the college president raises is not one of fact but of the moral law. He proclaims that restriction of immigration is ungenerous no matter what the quality of that immigration is.

Now, if a thing is ungenerous, it must be because it is ungenerous toward somebody. Restriction of immigration, under the as-

sumed state of facts, is certainly not ungenerous to the native-born in the United States, nor to the foreign-born already here. Is it ungenerous to the intending immigrants, who may soon number two millions a year? That must be considered in connection with the effect of exclusion upon all the population of the other countries. If the standard of civilization and progress which the United States stands for were lowered, either by thinning the life blood of the people or by supplanting the existing races by others whose ideals are different, the damage to the rest of the world might be enough to much more than offset the benefit to the individuals admitted. For nations, like individuals, progress by emulation and imitation, and if there is nothing of value to imitate, such progress becomes delayed.

To sum up, the open hand may not be the most generous attitude, either toward our foreign-born citizens, toward present immigrants, toward future immigrants, or toward the world at large. In the words of Phillips Brooks: "If the world, in the great march of centuries, is going to be richer for the development of a certain national character, built up by a larger type of manhood here, then for the world's sake, for the sake of every nation that would pour in upon it that which would disturb that development, we have a right to stand guard over it."

GENERAL OUTLINE FOR THE NEGATIVE.

E. D. SHURTER

(See corresponding outline for the affirmative, page 15.)

Analysis. The affirmative's proposition is, that from one-fourth to one-half million immigrants are to be excluded for the sole reason that they cannot read.

A priori, this proposition cannot be justified—

- I. A reading test is not inherently sound.
 1. No test of health, ability, or character. It is said that 75 per cent of the American sailors who went down on the battleship Maine would have been excluded from entrance to this country by the literacy test. The affirmative claims that classes and not individuals must be considered, which is untrue, since the very aim of the law is to reach the individual immigrants.
 2. The proposed test is untimely. The proper time to apply it, if at all, is on admission to the suffrage, and not on admission to the country.
- II. The proposed test is not justifiable on economic grounds, for
 - a. Our country needs the immigrants that would be excluded by the reading test. (Actual effect against theory of the affirmative.)
 1. Every healthy, honest laborer adds to the wealth of the country.
 2. There is a scarcity of unskilled labor.
 - a. President Eliot of Harvard is authority for this statement, and points out that the Immigration Commission studied only the congested centers. The South is crying for more unskilled laborers, as was shown at the immigration conference held last September. It has been said that Texas could accommodate twice the total population of the world and then not be as thickly populated as is Belgium at the present time.

III. Not justifiable on political grounds—

1. It is the educated demagogue or anarchist that constitutes a political menace. As President Cleveland said in vetoing the Educational Test Bill in 1897, "Violence and disorder do not originate with illiterate laborers; they are, rather, the victims of the educated agitator. In my opinion, it is infinitely more safe to admit 100,000 immigrants who cannot read and write than to admit one of those unruly agitators who incite to discontent and tumult."

IV. Not justifiable on social grounds—

1. Granted that certain segregated districts may suggest the possibility of race deterioration, the affirmative, in urging a lower man-type problem in America, is taking counsel of its fears, not of its hopes or of experience. There is no present pressing danger of race deterioration; no intermarriage problem. The Melting Pot may in time produce a new and different type of American, but we have no evidence to show that this composite will be inferior to the present type. The constant infusion of new blood in the past justifies no such fear.
2. Assimilation is not amalgamation. Mere grouping or segregation is not necessarily bad. For example, the Irish immigrants in the past, or the Germans in New Braunfels at the present time. Even a Little Italy or a Little Mexico is not necessarily a menace to our institutions.
3. Further, our government has never attempted to organize, as it should, an agency for distribution, but has left this problem to voluntary organizations.
4. Under the law proposed, taking only the immigrants from Germany, France, England, and Ireland last year, of those whom the affirmative admit are desirable, not to mention those from other European countries, nearly 7000 would have been excluded.

- V. Such a law is not necessary. A better remedy would be to

strengthen present laws or to adopt a system of admission by certificate from United States consuls in foreign countries.

Conclusion. The remedy proposed is worse than the disease. The remedy is an artificial, academic test to be applied after a faulty diagnosis of the case. And in so far as our nation is suffering from an overdose of immigration, other remedies will more surely and directly effect a cure.

SELECTED NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS

THE EDUCATIONAL TEST

Extract from an editorial in *The Chautauquan*, January 24, 1914:

The arguments against any educational test are sufficiently familiar. The ability to read some recognized language is largely a question of opportunity. In certain old-world countries illiteracy is prevalent because the government does little to bring education to the people. Illiteracy is entirely consonant with moral excellence. The sturdy, thrifty, honest, industrious peasant or laborer who cannot read may be an infinitely better immigrant than the literate or educated parasite or loafer. Black handers, firebugs and forgers are not drawn, as a rule, from the illiterate rural elements.

If, then, the reading test is not in any proper sense elective, why is it advocated? The answer is that it is proposed simply as a means of reducing immigration. That it would reduce it heavily in many instances, all admit. It might reduce some immigration 40 or 50 per cent. If such reduction has become necessary, any test will be accepted by the average restrictionist. But even among laboring men there is no agreement touching the necessity for drastic restriction. At the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor one delegate, the president of the Hod Carriers and Common Laborers' Union, Domenick Allessandro, an Italian, made the following appeal:

"Before we came the Irish were the hod carriers and the laborers. Now they wear a star and are policemen and firemen. Who is doing the rough and dirty work of this country? The immigrant.

Surely, you would not want your sons to go out and do this class of labor. Give the immigrant a chance who has had no opportunity to get an education in the old country. He will be honest with you, as a dog is with his master."

In the impartial sociological circles opinion is also divided. But it is safe to say that the majority of liberal-minded thinkers are firmly opposed to any so-called educational test for immigrants.

THE IMMIGRATION BILL.

Extract from a speech of Hon. Thomas Gallagher of Illinois, December 14, 1912:

Let me read for your benefit the views of the minority of your committee on this bill. They are as follows:

"The illiteracy test provided in the bill will not serve to keep out the viciously inclined, the criminal, or the otherwise really undesirable alien.

"Experience has demonstrated the fact that, with the educational facilities afforded in this land, thousands of illiterates who, unhappily, were denied educational opportunities in their native lands have learned to read and write here, and have shown an eagerness to acquire knowledge and fit themselves to become good citizens. It will also be noted that the exceptions provided in the bill are not broad enough to fully guard against the separation of families, though the majority of the committee admit that on humane and moral grounds separation of families should, as far as possible, be avoided and prevented. In our opinion the desirable immigrant is the healthy, law-abiding worker, who comes to this country in good faith, and the undesirable immigrant is the clever and educated schemer, who, immediately upon arrival, begins to find fault with our institutions."

You propose by this bill to prohibit the landing of immigrants who cannot read or write. Let me ask, where do you expect to obtain the help that is required to do the work that these men are now doing? With the tendency toward compulsory education and free text-books, will our public school system prepare our youth for such work? Will our graduates do it? Who will clean the streets of our cities, lay our sewers, and do such work? Will our graduates go to our mines or upon our farms? Will they build our

railroads? Will they become domestic servants? Reports from the agricultural districts show that crops are rotting for want of men to gather them. Does the farmer's son stay on the farm? My observation is that he is anxious to live in our cities. When you look around for men to do the work that the immigrant now does you will find very few to do it if this bill becomes a law.

The foundation for our present Bureau of Immigration was an act approved July 4, 1864, a most fitting day, which itself suggests freedom to worthy and downtrodden human beings. It was introduced by Mr. Washburne, a Representative from my State, who served in this body for sixteen years. He was a friend of Lincoln; also Secretary of State under Grant. President Lincoln, in his message to Congress, December 6, 1864, speaking in reference to this act that had for its object the encouragement of immigration, states:

"The act passed at the last session for the encouragement of immigration has, so far as was possible, been put in operation. It seems to need amendment which will enable the officers of the government to prevent the practice of frauds against the immigrants while on their way and on their arrival in the ports, so as to secure them here a free choice of avocations and places of settlement. A liberal disposition toward this great national policy is manifested by most of the European States, and ought to be reciprocated on our part by giving the immigrants effective national protection. *I regard our immigrants as one of the principal replenishing streams which are appointed by providence to repair the ravages of internal war and its waste of national strength and health. All that is necessary is to secure the flow of that stream in its present fullness, and to that end the government must in every way make it manifest that it neither needs nor designs to impose involuntary military service upon those who come from other lands to cast their lot in our country.*"

It must be seen by observing people that the main purpose of this bill is not to exclude from the United States immigrants who are unable to read and write their language or dialect. It must be for some other purpose. It is said it will tend to improve labor conditions of this country. Will it be contended that the men advocating the passage of this bill on this floor are anxious to pass legislation that will benefit labor? "Beware of the Greeks bearing

gifts." I have always endeavored to assist and aid labor on all occasions in securing legislation for shorter hours and for improving their conditions in general. I doubt if many of the people speaking in favor of this bill can say as much.

Our immigrants are law-abiding citizens and just as loyal to our government as any other people. They have taken part in our wars and have shown themselves to be as brave as the most gallant defenders of the Stars and Stripes. This is borne out by our country's history, and many of the monuments which serve to beautify our capital city perpetuate their devotion to the cause of liberty and freedom.

They come here among us and they ask us to give them the same greeting as accorded other unfortunates who have come. They have joined with us to make this country free and independent, and have worked for the upbuilding, advancement, and general welfare of every part of our country. Let us still welcome them to our shores and extend to them the freedom we enjoy. The immigrants were with us in the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, and the war with Spain, and in the struggle that may yet come they will be found ready and willing to answer our country's call.

President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University, in a recent letter, speaking on the subject of immigration, remarks:

"An educational test to resist immigration is both misdirected and untimely. It is misdirected, because ability to read is no proof of either health or character. Many entirely illiterate persons are vigorous, honest, and of sound judgment in affairs and in the conduct of life. It is untimely, because the right moment to apply an educational test is on admission to the suffrage, not on admission to the country. In all races the most dangerous criminals come from classes that can read and write, and not from the illiterate. A test founded on the ability to read will not keep out the worst criminals and will furnish no safeguard in action to the officers charged with the execution of the existing restrictive laws.

"All attempts to exclude healthy and honest immigrants are inconsistent with the rightful generosity of freeman toward people who wish to be free and of working people whose conditions of labor are favorable toward people in other lands whose conditions of labor are less favorable and who are ambitious of improving their environment by going to free America. The present people

of the United States have themselves been immigrants into the fresh continent within generations still recent, and they ought to shrink, and do shrink, from imposing hard conditions of admission to the country on the newer immigrants who are ambitious to follow their example. It is the mission of the United States to spread freedom and democracy throughout the world, teaching as many men and women as possible in freedom's largest home how to use freedom rightly through practice in liberty under law."

With these views I am in complete accord. It must be clearly kept in mind that the matter now before us affects merely the admission of the immigrant, not his naturalization. The measure now proposed to close the gates of our country to those, being otherwise qualified, simply lacking a knowledge of reading is, in our judgment, untimely and unnecessary, harsh and oppressive upon those affected who seek admission to our shores, ineffective, as we have pointed out, to keep out the really undesirable, opposed to American principles for which our country has stood since the adoption of our Constitution.

IMMIGRATION AND LABOR.

A brief summary of arguments advanced by Isaac A. Hourwich, in his work entitled "Immigration and Labor":

1. Recent immigration has displaced none of the native American wage earners or of the earlier immigrants, but has only covered the shortage of labor resulting from the excess of the demand over the domestic supply.
2. Immigration varies inversely with unemployment; it has not increased the rate of unemployment.
3. The standard of living of the recent immigrants is not lower than the standard of living of the past generations of immigrants engaged in the same occupations. Recent immigration has not lowered the standard of living to Americans and older immigrant wage earners.
4. Recent immigration has not reduced the rates of wages, nor has it prevented an increase in the rates of wages; it has pushed the native and older immigrant wage-earners upward on the scale of occupations.

5. The hours of labor have been reduced contemporaneously with recent immigration.

6. The membership of labor organizations has grown apace with recent immigration; the new immigrants have contributed their proportionate quota to the membership of every labor organization which has not discriminated against them, and they have firmly stood by their organizations in every contest.

There is consequently no specific "immigration problem." There is a general labor problem, which comprises many special problems, such as organization of labor, reduction of hours of labor, child labor, unemployment, prevention of work-accidents, etc. None of these problems being affected by immigration, their solution cannot be advanced by restriction or even by complete prohibition of immigration.

The advocates of restriction are conscious of the fact that without immigration the industrial expansion of the past twenty years would have been impossible. But they believe that the pace of progress has been too fast and that the interests of labor would be furthered by a slower development of industry which would dispense with southern and eastern European unskilled laborers. This is the gist of the recommendations of the Immigration Commission.

The weak point in this argument is that it takes no cognizance of the cardinal principle of modern division of labor, viz., that in every industrial establishment there is a fixed proportion of skilled to unskilled laborers. Were the immigration of skilled mechanics to continue as heretofore, while the expansion of the industry slowed down in consequence of a reduced supply of unskilled labor, a corresponding proportion of the skilled immigrants could find no employment at their trades. The skilled crafts whose organizations favor the exclusion of unskilled immigrants would be the first to suffer in consequence. The effects of the disproportion in the immigrant labor supply would be temporary, but a slow growth of industry would tend to curtail the opportunities for advancement of the wage-earners who are already here.

A NEW PLAN.

(The Chautauquan, July, 1913.)

The attempt to restrict immigration from "eastern and southern Europe" by means of an educational test having failed by reason of a presidential veto, and renewal of the attempt being deemed unwise because of the uncertainty concerning the immigration ideas of the new national administration, a new means of restriction has been proposed. A bill offered in Congress for purposes of discussion and eventual action provides for a rough sort of percentage limitation. Any nation may send us annually 5000 emigrants, to be admitted under existing restrictions as to health, morals and likelihood of self-support. No nation may send in any year more than a number equal to 10 per cent of the resident immigrants of that nation within our hospitable borders.

The effects of so simple and non-selective a measure would be these: In the first place, the total of admitted aliens would be considerably reduced—perhaps by 20 or 25 per cent. In the second place, immigration from particular nations would be reduced—these nations being Greece, Italy, Austria, Turkey, etc. Russia, Germany, England, Scandinavian countries would not be affected at all, their respective immigrations not now exceeding the prescribed limit.

Assuming that it is necessary or desirable to restrict immigration further, and assuming that Italian, Greek and Austrian immigration should be particularly restricted for the good of the United States, the proposed method has some merit. Both assumptions are open to doubt, and have in fact been vigorously challenged. There is no superabundance of unskilled labor in the country; the Balkan war has caused a scarcity in that commodity in many places. There is no evidence that alien labor has displaced native labor or reduced native wages. What element of native labor is available for subway digging, track laying or track repairing, street and sewer cleaning, etc.? As regards the supposed undesirability of Greek, Italian and Austrian immigration, it is based on mere prejudice and academic remoteness. Our problem is one of proper distribution, not of severe exclusion. An immigrant who is undesirable in a congested city may be highly desirable on a Western

farm, or a New England abandoned farm. The notion that certain races or peoples are inferior, worthless, dangerous, is not new. The objections to people from eastern, southern and southeastern Europe are the objections that used to be made against other and "better" races and peoples in "Know-Nothing" days.

The time may, perhaps, come when native labor or our standards of living and wages will necessitate drastic restriction of immigration. In that case a 10 per cent, or 50 per cent, or even a 100 per cent limitation, will be justifiable. It is the privilege of any country, and it may be its duty, to suspend its immigration laws and close its gates for a period of years. Such suspension should be general and not discriminatory. That we are now facing the necessity of such a suspension, few will venture to assert. The expediency of a 10 per cent limit, with a 5000 minimum, is certainly debatable, and Congress at the next session will doubtless discuss the proposal as thoroughly as it ought to be discussed.

SIFTING THE IMMIGRANTS.

(The Outlook, January, 1912.)

A large proportion of our population comes to us without any education. They are those who come to us through the cradle. We do not fear their coming. We can provide in our homes and in our schools for the education of all the children born in America. No one wishes to limit their number. If all the immigrants from abroad could be landed on our shores as little children, and could be adopted into American families and sent to American schools, we could also welcome them. So far as there is any peril in the immigrant population, it is due to the prejudices which they bring with them; and these prejudices are quite as much the result of bad education as of no education.

What qualities do we want in our immigrants to make them a welcome addition to our population? Without undertaking to give a comprehensive answer to this question, there are certainly four qualities which are needed:

Good physical health.

The economic virtues, such as temperance, honesty, and thrift.

A desire to become Americans, and the purpose to remain in America.

Capacity to become assimilated with the American population. And the classes which we desire to exclude from America are also four:

Physical, mental, and moral degenerates.

Idlers, agitators, and cranks. We can breed all of these we want without help from the Old World.

Transients who come here to earn a little money, to live as near the edge of poverty as possible, to be while in this country Hungarians, Italians, Poles, and the like, and to return to their homes as soon as they have accumulated a meager competence.

Those whose race peculiarities are such as make intermarriage with the American people and assimilation into the American nation undesirable, if not impossible.

What the nation wants of Congress is such legislation as will sift our immigration on the lines indicated above.

No simple provision, such as a perfunctory test of reading and writing, or a certain amount of money in hand, or the demand of a larger head tax, will suffice to solve our immigrant problem. We must either be willing to organize an effective and competent method of selecting the immigrants we want, or we must continue to take them as they come and do the best we can with them when they are here. We repeat what we have heretofore said: "The main inspection of the incoming immigration should be transferred from the American port of disembarkation to the European port of embarkation." It would be possible, and it is desirable, to re-establish in a modified form the passport system, to put at all the European ports from which immigrants come in considerable numbers a competent and well paid inspector or corps of inspectors, who could ascertain something respecting the physical, mental, and moral qualifications of the emigrant, and the purpose with which he is coming to America, and who could grant him a passport which would furnish a *prima facie* justification for his reception into this country, subject to further examination in special cases and for special reasons. The objections to this plan are two: First, it would be expensive. The reply to this is, it would not cost the country as much as the reception into the country of an undesirable class of immigrants. Second, some of the foreign countries would refuse to give their consent to the establishment of such inspectors within their ports. The answer to this is,

America would then refuse to receive immigrants from those ports, because they did not bring with them the required passports.

But still more important than any sifting out of incoming immigrants is proper treatment of them when they arrive and after they are domiciled here. On this subject also we repeat what we have heretofore said: "The fundamental remedy for the discontented and revolutionary element in the population of this country is the improvement of all social and labor conditions under which the newcomers are often allowed, perhaps we should say compelled, to live." It is important to exclude undesirable immigrants, but it is still more important so to treat the immigrants when they are here that they will become desirable.

PEN AND BOOK AS TESTS OF CHARACTER.

(Editorial by Jane Addams in *The Survey*, N. Y., Jan. 4, 1913.)

The House of Representatives by its recent affirmative vote upon the Burnett Bill reported from the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, registered itself in favor of the literacy test for immigrants arriving in the United States. Much of the discussion in the House and in the press was particularly objectionable because of the emphasis placed upon racial differences. The old and new immigration were frequently contrasted with the traditional odiousness resulting from comparisons. The epithet of "inferior races" was constantly applied to certain peasant groups who, as the result of isolation and lack of opportunity, are doubtless backward, but who do not, therefore, belong to an inferior stock, and who exhibit no greater differences to other groups of their own race than those which often obtain between branches of the same family. Striking differences are certainly found between certain family groups in America, one of which has remained for five generations stranded in the mountains of Virginia or Tennessee, in contrast to their cousins whose forefathers crossed over the mountains into fertile valleys. Many mountain whites of America are illiterate and totally unacquainted with the advances of civilization, but they do not thereby change their race nor their capacity for development.

After all, literacy is neither a test of character nor of ability; it is merely an index of the educational system of the community

in which a man has been reared. The literacy test will always work in favor of the man from the city and discriminate against the man from the country. On the face of it, it would seem safer to admit a sturdy peasant from the mountains of Calabria than a sophisticated Neapolitan, familiar with the refined methods of police graft which have made the Camorra famous. In addition to that, the peasant finds work waiting for him, the educated man "above manual labor" often has a pitiful struggle to keep himself from starvation. Our experience at Hull House is similar to that of the friends of the immigrant everywhere. We recall an Italian editor, a Greek professor, a Russian medical student, an Armenian Master of Arts, for whom it was impossible to obtain anything but manual work which they finally undertook in bitterness of spirit and with insufficiency of muscle. A settlement constantly sees the deterioration of highly educated foreigners under the strain of maladjustment, in marked contrast to the often rapid rise of the families of illiterate immigrants.

One of the most gifted boys ever connected with Hull House, who is now a rising man in his profession and in the civic life of Chicago, is the son of immigrant parents who can neither read nor write, while one of our most baffling cases is the refined and educated son of a Greek clergyman who can find no work which he does not consider beneath his educational qualifications.

The only service America is universally eager to render to the immigrant and his children, and, moreover, the only one it is thoroughly equipped to offer, is free education. By the same token, so eager are the immigrants to avail themselves of America's educational opportunities for their children, that the census figures show greater illiteracy among native whites of native parentage than among native white of foreign parentage. The average illiteracy of native white of native parentage is 5.7 per cent and of native white of foreign parents 1.6 per cent. In the light of these figures it would seem clear that illiteracy is the one defect most easily remedied and that American experience does not justify the use of literacy as a fair test for entrance.

Throughout the discussion concerning the literacy test the "over-supply of unskilled labor" was constantly referred to, although no comprehensive inquiry has ever been undertaken which could demonstrate this. We have no national system of labor exchanges

which might show how much of the apparent unemployment is maladjustment of the supply to the demand and how much is over-supply. Certainly under-employment, casual work, long hours, poor wages, unsanitary shops, are found in industries in which the "unskilled immigrant man" is not employed. Limiting the supply by restricting immigration will cure none of these, and it merely confuses the issue to claim that it will. Until industrial conditions in America are faced, the immigrant will continue to be blamed for conditions for which the community is responsible. There is no doubt that America has failed to make legislative provisions against those evils as other countries have done, partly because the average citizen holds a contemptuous attitude toward the "foreigner" and is not stirred to action on his behalf.

In line with this lack of clear thinking and even of definite information on the subject, is the constant assertion commonly made that one million immigrants a year are coming into this country; yet Secretary Nagel's annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, shows that in the year 838,172 immigrants and 178,983 non-immigrant aliens entered. The total of these is 7,017,155. But during the year there departed from the country 615,292 aliens, of whom 333,262 were of the emigrant and 282,030 of the non-emigrant class. The net or actual increase in the alien population for the fiscal year 1912, therefore, was 401,863; the corresponding increase in 1911 was 512,085, averaging less than half a million a year.

THE LITERACY TEST.

(An editorial from *The Outlook* of February, 1913.)

The Burnett Immigration Bill has passed the House of Representatives and is now before the Senate. The most important provision of this bill is that which requires that the incoming alien be subjected to a literacy test, and excludes from admission into the United States "all aliens over sixteen years of age, physically capable of reading, who cannot read the English language, or some other language or dialect, including Hebrew or Yiddish." This, however, does not prevent any citizen or legally admitted alien from bringing in or sending for certain relatives.

This provision is inserted on the assumption that the United

States must limit the number of admissible aliens. It is not argued that this literacy test will infallibly sort out for exclusion the least desirable; but it is believed that it will reduce the number of immigrants, and will, on the whole, result in separating the inferior class of immigrants from the rest and sending them back.

We think there are two errors in this assumption. First, we think it is an error to assume that there is need for limiting the number of immigrants. This country can afford to welcome to its shores anyone who gives promise of becoming really American, and whose descendants will become assimilated with the American people. Second, we think it is an error to assume that the alien who can read is more promising as a future American than the one who cannot. Illiteracy is a serious defect, but it is a defect which can be cured. What we need to do is to exclude aliens with defects that cannot be cured. The illiterate alien who comes here with the ambition of becoming literate and sending his children to school that they may become really educated has a better chance of becoming a good American citizen and contributing to the welfare of the country than the literate alien who just because he is literate has absorbed ideas that make him resentful toward authority and incapable of understanding American ideas of law and liberty.

Other proposals have been made for reducing the number of immigrants. One would limit the number to a certain percentage of each nationality already in the country. Another would limit immigration to those who have received a certain rate of wages in their own country. These tests have to do with number and general classes, and for that reason, as well as for other reasons, we believe that they are not wise.

What we need is not so much new tests as, first, a more effective method of applying the tests now in existence; second, a more effective method of applying those tests to individuals rather than to classes; and, third, a better method of distributing aliens after they have arrived.

Aliens should be examined, not after they have been brought together in a great mass at Ellis Island, but at the ports of embarkation. They should be received only upon the presentation of passports which will certify to their individual moral character,

and they should be encouraged by every legitimate method to settle upon the land rather than literally to pile themselves up in cities.

OUR EMIGRATION.

(*Detroit Free Press*, December 18, 1912.)

With many persons, the immigration question has become a bugaboo to frighten native-born children o' nights. Some, apparently, have an idea that the countries of Europe are deliberately shipping their peasants and undesirables and outcasts to the United States at the rate of several millions a year, and that in a very brief period there will be no more "real" Americans.

This exaggerated concern for the future is founded, of course, upon a real condition. There is a considerable problem confronting the country in the necessity for the assimilation of homeseekers and others who come from the Old World, but that the problem is not necessarily hopeless, that it is not the frightful thing some would have us believe, may be deduced from statistics submitted in the annual report of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

According to this report, 1,017,155 aliens have entered the United States this year. Out of this number 838,172 were of the immigrant class. But on the other hand 615,292 aliens have left the country, leaving a net increase in foreign population for the year of 401,843. In other words, the net increase in foreign population stands to the whole population of the country approximately as a net increase of 500 would stand to the whole population of a city of 100,000.

It is to be noted further that the increase in 1912 is less than in the two years immediately preceding, the figures for 1911 being 512,085, and those for 1910 being 817,619. While it is probable that a part of the falling off is due to the European wars of the last few months and to the consequent recall of reservists, the figures, nevertheless, show that there is no great tendency to large growth in the net amount of immigration from year to year, and that the problem of assimilation ought to be well within the power of any grown-up and robust nation, even if there are difficult situations in some few localities. There is beginning to arise a suspicion that some of the troubles we have been in the habit of ascribing to immigration are due at least in part to other causes—

for instance, to the widespread flight of the native born from the country place to the big cities.

THE EDUCATIONAL TEST.

Extract from the views of Mr. Bennett of New York and Mr. O'Connell of Massachusetts, House of Representatives, report No. 1956, Part 2, 61st Congress, 3d Session:

The educational test will keep out some able-bodied men and women of irreproachable moral character and filled with the desire to work, but who have not had early educational advantages; and will admit practically every foreign-born criminal, who has misused early advantages, and also that small, but dangerous, class who come to this country with no intention of engaging in an honest occupation, but of maintaining themselves through the exploitation of their fellow countrymen. Education is the principal means through which this class obtains the confidence of its victims.

We do not, however, principally oppose the literacy test because of its being a sham, nor entirely because it keeps out many who should be admitted and lets in some who should be debarred, but because the reasons given for restriction are slight and those for selection do not exist. It is true that the Immigration Commission reported that in some basic industries there was a surplus of labor, which indicated that there was an overplus of unskilled laborers in the industries of the country, but the Commission unanimously recommended that so far as restriction was concerned it should be applied to unskilled laborers either single or coming here leaving their families behind them. The sole recommendation of the Immigration Commission in regard to the educational test was that it was the most feasible, from which we assume the majority meant that it was the easiest to secure, and even in this we think that that majority was in error. As to the character of the immigrants who have come to this country in the past twenty-five years, the Immigration Commission—nine men of different views, reported unanimously that conviction for crime is no more common among the new immigrants than among the native born; that they are far less the victims of disease than any other class of immigrants of whom statistics have ever been kept; that they are rarely found among the victims of alcoholism; that pauperism is relatively at

a minimum among them; that in the most congested blocks of cities having the largest foreign-born populations, five-sixths of the homes of the foreign-born are well kept and two-fifths are immaculate—and this on the report of women investigators; that their children attend school in large numbers; and that such new immigrants are much more rarely found in the insane asylum than their predecessors.

While we concur in the evident opinion of the commissioner general that the literacy test would not be effective, there is no question about its effectiveness concerning one class, and that is the illiterate aliens who in prior years have been admitted to this country and who are not yet naturalized. In past years, when times have become hard in this country the alien who had but recently arrived, who was an unmarried man, or who had a family in the country of his birth went back at the first sign of economic distress, thus relieving this country of any question as to his support. The most recent and impressive example was had during the years of 1907 and 1908, and these returning aliens went cheerfully because they understood that when there was a demand again for labor in this country they could return.

The moment the literacy test is enacted every alien in this country who cannot comply with it, and who has the slightest desire to attach himself to our country will be attached to this country by the fact that if he once goes out he cannot certainly come in, for even the method of administration of the new test is uncertain. And, therefore, if another period of economic distress should come, we would not have the benefit of the economic relief which we had in the recent years through the emigration of those who were least competent to succeed. This would make any subsequent panic or business depression much more disastrous and the recovery much more slow.

It has been our boast since the days of Roger Williams, Lord Baltimore, and William Penn, that this country was the refuge for the oppressed. On that sentiment, in large part, has been built up our national idea of free America, and because of that sentiment we have attracted here the ambitious of every nation. The free and unrestricted immigration of the able-bodied has not injured our country in the past, but has helped it, and the maintenance of our shores as an asylum for the oppressed has made us

an example for liberty everywhere and a continued menace to tyranny. We cannot afford, after our emphatic success as exponents of liberty and freedom, to adopt at this time any measure based upon an avowal of our belief that lack of opportunity of any alien people has made them our inferiors, nor can we afford to close our doors to fugitives from oppression and injustice still unfortunately existing. The Russian-Jewish mothers who have seen their husbands and their children killed and maimed in the pogroms have just as much right in this country in the twentieth century as the Puritan and the Pilgrim had in the seventeenth. The Pole and the Finn who has seen his country enslaved, have the same rights to come here to freedom and liberty as had William Penn and his Quakers.

The denationalized Roumanian Jew, proscribed because of race and religion in the country of his birth, has the moral right to enjoy our country's Constitution guaranteeing religious freedom. The family of the murdered Armenian Christian from Asia Minor cannot be barred without a reversal of all our previous professions and practice, and the South Italian, coming to this country to escape the burden of medieval landlordism, puts his claim on exactly the same grounds as the Irish immigrant of the fifties. In the past, the peoples coming to us because of similar reasons have risen among us to standing and success, and there is no reason to believe that those now coming will not do so also. The rigid bill, ordered to be reported, against which we protest, would bar out, irrespective of every other consideration, the people of any of the classes we have mentioned.

THE NEW IMMIGRANT.

Extract from a speech of Hon. W. L. Igoe of Missouri, in the House of Representatives, January 5, 1914:

The statistics and reports furnish us with convincing proof that our foreign-born inhabitants, given the opportunity to secure an education, not only take advantage of it themselves but almost invariably see that their children receive an education. The last census report shows that, notwithstanding the number of illiterates that are supposed to be coming into this country, there were in the United States in 1910 a total of 788,631 foreign-born illiterates

over the age of twenty-one years. The statistics further show that in the population ten years of age and over the percentage of illiteracy in the United States among native whites of native parentage was 3.7 per cent, while among whites of foreign or mixed parentage it was 1.1 per cent.

Instead of our aliens being unappreciative of our institutions and not in sympathy with them, these figures indicate an eager and patriotic desire to take advantage of every means afforded to better their own and their children's condition. It is a sufficient answer to those who say the alien is not in sympathy with our institutions.

Many statements have been made here that would indicate that our recent immigration was wholly undesirable for various reasons. We have heard much about the old immigration and the new immigration, but we have received no definite information as to just when the old immigration ceased and the new immigration began. Repeated statements have been made on the floor that in my judgment are not warranted by any facts or figures that have been produced. Even the majority report does an injustice to the recent immigrants, in my opinion, when a partial statement from the report of the Immigration Commission in regard to crime is set forth. From this statement it might be assumed that the Commission found that the greater portion of our new immigrants, on landing in this country, immediately resorted to homicide, blackmail, and robbery. The quotation is given as one of the reasons for the literacy test, yet when we examine the report of the Commission on the same page from which the majority report quotes, we find the following statement:

"It is impossible from existing data to determine whether the immigrant population in this country is relatively more or less criminal than the native-born population. Statistics show that the proportion of convictions for crimes, according to the population, is greater among the foreign-born than the native-born. It must be remembered, however, that the proportion of persons of what may be termed the criminal age is greater among the foreign-born than among the natives, and when due allowance is made for this fact it appears that criminality, judged by convictions, is about equally prevalent in each class."

It might not be out of place to examine other portions of that

report. Under the heading "Immigration and Pauperism," on page 35, the Commission says:

"At the present time, however, pauperism among newly admitted immigrants is relatively at a minimum, owing to the fact that the present immigration law provides for the admission only of the able-bodied or dependents whose support by relatives is assured. The number of those admitted who receive assistance from organized charity in cities is relatively small. In the Commission's investigation, which covered the activities of the associated charities in forty-three cities, including practically all the large immigrant centers except New York, it was found that a small percentage of the cases represented immigrants who had been in the United States three years or under, while nearly half of the foreign-born cases were those who had been in the United States twenty years or more. This investigation was conducted during the winter of 1908-1909, before industrial activities had been fully resumed following the financial depression of 1907-1908, and this inquiry showed that the recent immigrants, even in cities in times of relative industrial inactivity, did not seek charitable assistance in any considerable numbers. Undoubtedly conditions would have been otherwise had it not been for the large outward movement of recent immigrants following the depression; but however that may be, it is certain that those who remained were for the most part self-supporting."

Surely, if the new immigrants are so undesirable, it cannot be because they lack industry, thrift, or ability to support and maintain themselves by their own efforts.

THE MELTING POT

Extract from a speech of Hon. Frank M. Nye of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, Saturday, December 14, 1912:

Mr. Chairman: I think it was Whittier who said:

"It is the heart and not the brain,
That to the highest doth attain."

The world's permanent betterment and advancement will come through the hearts of men rather than through that which we call education; and I think that one of the most practical tests of the heart of a man, his motives in life, is the fact that he intends to

be a useful man to any country in which he lives, and to the world. The workingmen, whether they come from Italy or Poland or Ireland or Germany or France, the men who come here with their families or without their families, for the honest purpose of work, whether it is within an organization or out of it, may, as a rule, be counted as men of pretty good hearts and good motives in life. If these men whom you intend to exclude by this bill are fundamentally and constitutionally wrong in their hearts and motives and in their purposes to earn a living, you are liable, so far as the bill is concerned, so far as you educate them, to place a weapon in their hands for injury.

Educated villainy is more dangerous than honest ignorance; and many of our own people, I think we must admit, are using the weapon of education to wrong and oppress their fellow men. I believe that usefulness wherever a man lives is true education. The useful hand and the useful brain—and true education is that in which the hand and brain work together—are a benefit to any country. And we cannot in human legislation pick out the man of genius or the man whose work is to be most effective in the advancement of civilization. Marconi was an Italian; his father an Italian, his mother an Irish peasant girl from northern Ireland. Luther, whom my friend from Missouri (Mr. Bartholdt) honors and respects in his religion, was the child of poor miner peasants in Germany. Lincoln was born in the heart of obscurity and came up out of the wilderness of poverty and pain. Genius is often born in the hovel. God takes the weak things to confound the mighty, and for us by this species of legislation to say that a man who can barely read may be admitted and that this is to be the test of his citizenship seems to me puerile. I do not believe in it. I believe that this country is destined to amalgamate and bring out of many races the glory of the future ages. Some people laugh at what we call the "melting pot." Call it what you will. I call it that spirit which comes from the best heart of America to unify mankind and to establish a fraternal relation by means of which we are to solve this and other perplexing problems of today. It is true we are a nation of extremes. We have abnormal wealth at the top and resentment and, perhaps, bitterness at the bottom. We have wrong and injustice here and resentment there, but the human

brain and that which we call education will not solve it. It must come from the hearts of men. It must be the spirit that unifies men; it must be in the spirit of good will to men.

We are prone to attribute the ills of our social life to anything and everything but ourselves. It is always the other fellow. But our national perils are not from without so much as from within. The clever native-born American, who is often as unscrupulous as he is clever, may well claim our attention when we study the causes which menace our national happiness. To get rich quick or to get something for nothing is not strikingly peculiar to our foreign-born population, and especially the working classes. These have no monopoly of vice and crime. Virtue is more often the companion of industry than of idleness, and the people we seek to exclude by this bill are as a rule industrious. Jefferson believed in an aristocracy of virtue and talent rather than aristocracy of wealth. The foreigner as a rule gives us a constant lesson of industry and economy, which many of the native-born may well emulate. He lives within his means, and generally saves from his earnings, even if they are small; and while we are wasteful, he is frugal; while we are idle, he works. He adapts his expenses to his income, and he succeeds where we fail. I do not mean this is true in all cases, but everywhere in country and city it is so common that none can fail to observe it. I would not disparage the native-born citizen, but let us not be blind to our weaknesses nor ignore our faults or the vices of our civilization which we are responsible for. The New World is the child of the Old. We are united by millions of family ties, which every law of nature forbids we should sever by narrow and arbitrary enactments of law. The hardships the foreigner must undergo in leaving his home and native land and fighting the battle of life after he gets here is in itself proof that he is good for something. We are not getting the most wealthy of Europe, but the most worthy—men of metal, men of grit and perseverance. The sturdy sons of northern Europe give strength and character to our citizenship, while southern Europe, the land of historic genius in painting, sculpture, music, literature, and philosophy, gives her best blood to the New World to make complete the foundations of a future civilization whose possibilities are beyond the dreams of men. May we not hope that in this land, so richly

endowed by heaven and under a diviner democracy than any yet known to the children of men, the Old World may find its renovation in the New and the New gather inspiration from the Old? Patriotic, liberty-loving America of the future, the land that holds the hope of humanity, must answer this question.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTENSION.

(Continued from inside front cover.)

Problem; Six-year Presidential Term; Tariff and Free Raw Materials; Texas' Need of the Services of Higher Education; and Woman Suffrage.

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